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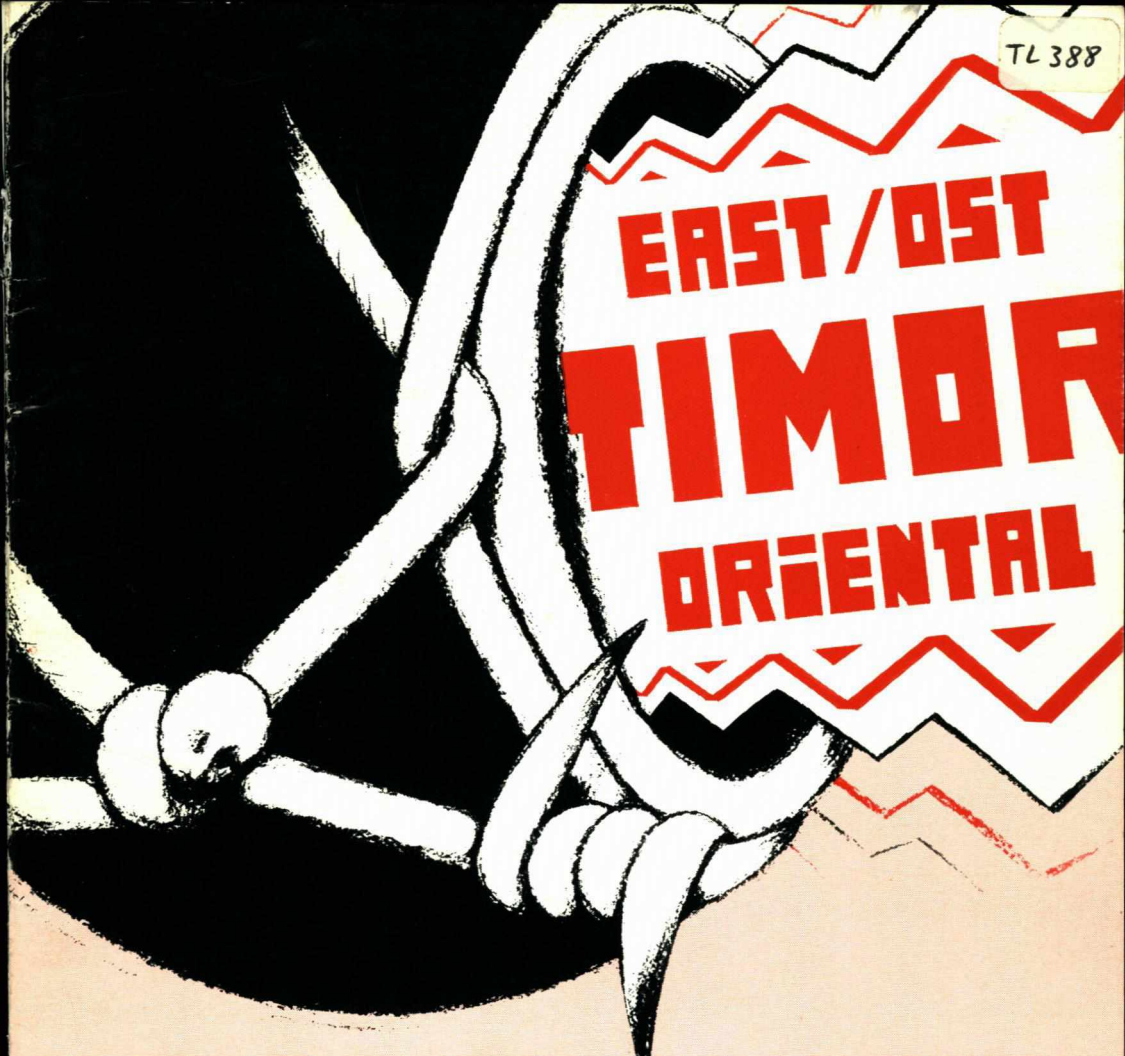


# NO DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT JUSTICE!

**Christian Movement for Peace International Working Group on East Timor**

CDPM
DOCUMENTAÇÃO

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# Foreword

## East Timor: No development without justice

Many people and solidarity organisations are supporting the struggles of so called "Third World" countries and communities on the basis of justice through development. Development is seen as a necessary condition for justice and peace. However the people of East Timor find themselves in the position of claiming no development without justice.

Having been denied the basic right to self-determination and seen their right to exist as a people endangered through the illegal occupation of their territory by Indonesia, the East Timorese are not very impressed by what Indonesia claims to be the major achievement of its occupation, the economic development of the island. Roads, schools and even a cathedral have been been built, there should be no reason for concern . . .

However, one could argue that the territory has been so deprived of basic infrastructure that Indonesia could hardly fail to develop the island. It can also be argued that the roads have been built primarily for military use, that the schools are a tool being used to force the Javanisation of the Timorese population and that the building of a cathedral is part of a carefully oriented campaign to gain the support of the Timorese through the Catholic Church.

Indonesia follows in the footsteps of former colonial powers in pretending that the Timorese are not capable of surviving on their own and that Indonesian occupation is necessary to secure the future wealth and prosperity of the Timorese people. The argument has been used so many times by countries invading and occupying other territories, that it is surprising how many people apparently still believe in it.

For it is widely accepted that freedom and self-determination are (often) more important than economic wealth and few people are willing to give up their freedom to live in a golden cage.

The Timorese people certainly need development initiatives that reflect their own needs and priorities so international support in this field would be welcomed. First of all however, the Timorese ask for the recognition of their right to exist as a people, the right to decide on their own future, the right to be free and independent.

For fourteen years now the Timorese have been fighting for their independence in almost total anonymity and against the hypocrisy of some of the world's most powerful countries. It is an effort that they won't give up, but one that they are unlikely to win without international support.

Support that starts by getting informed in order to be able to act. This publication, issued by the CMP working group on East Timor, has no other ambition than to provide basic information to those who want to be informed, so that silence may no longer be the best ally of Indonesia.

# Introduction

"East Timor has been called the hidden holocaust, so far removed from the world's consciousness that only a handful of people are aware of the tragic events that have ravaged the population . . . .

It has been estimated that as many as 200,000 people out of a population of nearly 700,000 have perished since the 1975 invasion by troops of Indonesian dictator General Suharto. Based on a population comparison, this would be comparable to 36 million deaths in the United States".

*The Boston Sunday Globe, Dec 13th 1987.*

"The sun was rising. It was about five in the morning. I opened the window, looked at the sky and saw Indonesian military aircraft flying low and dropping paratroopers.

The warships and airplanes continued to fire on Dili with rockets and cluster bombs. They burned everything and everybody.

The Indonesians broke into houses. They ransacked the shops, looted the houses. They raped women . . . sometimes even in front of their husbands.

It was very bad. That day remains forever engraved in my memory. I will never forget."

The above is part of a description by Monsignor da Costa Lopes, the former papal representative in predominantly Catholic East Timor, of the invasion of Dili (capital of East Timor) by Indonesian forces on December 7 th 1975. The war continues to this day and estimates of the death toll have ranged as high as 200,000, or nearly one third of the population.

Tens of thousands were killed in the invasion itself and in subsequent "clearing up" operations. Land goes uncultivated and villagers have been herded into "secure camps". Many thousands have died through disease and starvation.

Practically no other country in modern history has suffered the loss of such a high proportion of its population as a result of invasion.

Why then is there so little awareness of the events that have taken place in East Timor ?

Until recently East Timor had been sealed off from the world by Indonesia, with the effect that hard news of the actual situation has been very difficult to come by: out of sight has meant out of mind. Stories and pictures have sometimes had to be smuggled out.

But even if we had a fuller understanding of events in Timor, would our governments want us to hear the full story? It's unlikely because diplomatic expediency is another major reason why we in the West hear so little about Timor. It seems that it is more important for our governments to retain good relations with Indonesia, whose importance is both economic and strategic, than for them to protest against the systematic genocide of a people, or support a small nation's right to self-determination.

# Background to the Invasion

Timor is located at the Eastern end of the Lesser Sunda island chain in the Indonesian archipelago. The western part of the island, colonised by the Dutch, has been part of Indonesia since 1949.

The territory of East Timor includes the Eastern part of the island, some other small islands and the enclave of Oecusse in the Western part. East Timor was under Portuguese administration from 1702, & it has an entirely separate cultural identity in terms of language, religion and cultural heritage from West Timor.

After the overthrow of the facist regime in Portugal during the Carnation Revolution in 1974, the new Portuguese government wished to quickly hand over responsibility for its remaining colonies.

At the time there were three emergent political parties in Timor. FRETILIN, the largest, supported independence; the UDT which favoured continuing links with Portugal; and ADOPETI, a tiny party, created by Indonesian Intelligence, not surprisingly favoured integration with Indonesia.

Indonesia pursued a policy to destabilise East Timor, by carrying out cross-border incursions into the territory with troops from West Timor, and adding to the existing political tensions in the territory wherever possible.

The period of civil war brought about by the power struggle between these parties caused the Portuguese to flee the island in August 1975. Whilst this did not alter the legal responsibilities of the Portuguese towards East Timor it weakened their position in practical terms, and as it turned out with tragic consequences.

After the Portuguese left FRETILIN gained control of the territory. It emerged as the dominant political group and formed a government. FRETILIN then formally invited the Portuguese back, in order to oversee the transition of the territory to self-rule.

However the Portuguese refused and FRETILIN unilaterally declared East Timor independent on the 28th November 1975. Just ten days later, on the 7th of Decemeber Indonesia invaded.

# The Struggle for Independence

The capital, Dili, was swiftly taken. Civilians were indiscriminately killed, even those waving white flags. FRETILIN's armed forces FALINTIL simply didn't have the resources to meet the Indonesian army in pitched battles, and withdrew to the interior, as did the greater part of the population. It took some time, however, for FRETILIN to develop the effective guerrilla tactics that it now uses with a high degree of sophistication.

During the first years of the invasion, (1976-78), Indonesia more than doubled its military spending. When outright victory no longer seemed so certain, harsh anti-guerrilla tactics of encirclement and annihilation were evolved. FALINTIL troops had the advantage of local knowledge of the

mountainous terrain and so Indonesia began to attack from the air, using helicopter gunships, Sky Hawks, Broncos and Tigers which also dropped napalm bombs. Captured FALINTIL troops and civilians were frequently tortured before being killed.

As Indonesia took possession of more of East Timor, the movements of the people were subject to stringent control. The cultivation of crops was so strictly limited that it resulted in a famine between 1978-80 so disastrous that it has been compared to those in Kampuchea and Biafra. The International Red Cross was at times denied access to Timor, and at other times Red Cross food supplies were corruptly sold off or kept by the Indonesians. Famine was used as a weapon as surely as was napalm, rape and torture.

The testimonies of those who have survived these experieces are shocking. It is estimated that 60,000 lives were lost within only a few months of the invasion.

Almost every family lost members through the combined effects of war, starvation, abduction and torture.

By 1979, FRETILIN was all but defeated. Yet it succeeded in rebuilding its forces under the leadership of Gusmao Xanana. Its strength lay in an underground network which linked towns and villages with people in the mountains and the resettlement camps. Its support from the population remained solid, despite the intimidating threats of reprisals which the Indonesians used to deter sympathisers.

In response to the resurgence of armed resistance, Indonesia adopted a new strategy known as the "fence of legs". Conscripted Timorese men and boys were forced to march in front of advancing Indonesian troops, in order to hunt down FALINTIL guerillas.

However,Indonesia still failed to crush the resistance and in March 1983 cease-fire talks were held with FRETILIN. When Xanana sought to include Portugal and the UN in negotiations, the cease-fire was abruptly terminated by the launch of Operation Cleansweep. Huge numbers of people "disappeared". Relatives were told they had been sent to Bali.

Fifteen years after the invasion, and against all the odds, FRETILIN are still actively impeding and disrupting the occupying troops wherever possible, making it clear that integration into Indonesia is not acceptable to the Timorese. From Indonesia's point of view, what was intended to have been a swift military operation became a protracted campaign, costly in terms of life, international reputation and actual financial cost.

Indonesia claims to have pacified the territory, and that East Timor is now fully integrated into Indonesia as her 27th province. At the end of 1988 Indonesia declared the territory "open" once more.

# A Shattered Society: Under Occupation

## 1. The Role of The Military

Indonesia is governed by its army. Many key Indonesian political office holders from the President down to village leaders belong to the military. The Indonesian army is guaranteed 20% of the seats in the legislature and runs candidates for the remaining seats.

It is not easy therefore to understand the invasion unless you take into account the thinking of the Indonesian military government. The regimes expansionist vision is surely one reason for the invasion. In addition Indonesia did not want an independent East Timor to set an example to other islands in the archipelago where it already faces resistance from groups seeking self-determination. There are similarities with the situation in Nicaragua and El Salvador, where the United States seeks to control the ideology of neighbouring states that lie, as she see's it, within her sphere of influence.

So on East Timor today Indonesia maintains a 20,000 strong army and FALINTIL numbers perhaps only 2,000 operational guerillas, armed with equipment taken from the Indonesians. A rotation of the Indonesian troops based there means that some 100,000 soldiers participate each year in the war in East Timor. Active service in East Timor is often seen to be a means of rapid promotion through the ranks.

The army controls much of the day to day life of the civilian population as well as most of the administrative structures of Timorese society, as it does in Indonesia itself. Prior to the invasion the Timorese lived in widely dispersed hamlets, consisting of four or five houses clustered together, which enabled them to make best use of the land.

Now the majority of the people have been relocated in some 400 closely guarded resettlement camps. This has had a shattering effect on the traditional culture and economy of Timor.

## 2. Economic Development for Whom?

Before the invasion, the Timorese were mainly farmers and fishermen. Coffee was the main cash crop. The Portuguese controlled trade and there were joint Portuguese-Timorese enterprises. Now Indonesia is the only coffee buyer. It operates through companies owned by the family of President Suharto, or by Indonesian generals and businessmen.

The Indonesian invasion and occupation has broken down the traditional Timorese economy, which, though it was always fragile, gave the Timorese a subsistence living. The development of Timorese agriculture by the Indonesians has been geared to cash crops, coffee and tobacco, while ownership has moved away from the Timorese subsistence farmers. This is causing a shortage of basic goods and extreme poverty within the Timorese community. On the other hand many Indonesians, particularly high ranking army officers, have become rich at the expense of the Timorese.

Indonesia claims that in East Timor it has carried out much

infrastructural development. It is true that new roads have been built but the main aim has been to facilitate the movement of troops. Baucau airport has become the largest military base in the territory. Money for actual development projects is reduced or diverted to fund the war effort which demands more and more investment.

The development programme, which has impressed some foreign visitors, does not impress the Timorese themselves because they often do not benefit from the services being provided. For example they can't get medicines from the hospitals because they can't afford them.

The policy of building schools, hospitals, roads, a Cathedral and even a radio station has been designed to win the hearts and minds of the Timorese, to Indonesianise them and pacify them. However the schools instil an alien value system, in the way history is taught for example. The teaching is Bahasa Indonesian the language of occupation and not the taditional languages of East Timor such as Tetun or Portuguese.

The official Indonesian state ideology known as PANCASILA is also promoted through the education system and by the state propaganda machine.

The building of a Roman Catholic cathedral, has also failed to endear the Timorese towards Indonesia. They reportedly boycott the Cathedral and prefer to use the old church.

## 3. Indonesia's Policies of Birth Control and Transmigration

The state of Indonesia covers a vast area which includes numerous islands and many different cultures.

A predominantly muslim state, Indonesia suffers extreme overcrowding on Java, yet it is endowed with rich primary resources on relatively underpopulated islands. Indonesia has sought to tackle the population problem and explore its natural resources by developing a programme of transmigration. Poor families are transported to outlying areas of the country and offered land, often tropical rainforest; to develop and cultivate. This process, which has received world bank support, has resulted in the gradual destruction of a fragile eco-system. It has also failed to benefit many thousands of transmigrants who labour to eke out a living from the thin, denuded soils of unsuitable land.

Indigenous people have been displaced and have suffered disastrously as a result of the transmigration programme. East Timor has become a part of this programme, with some of the best land being allocated to incoming Indonesian settlers at the expense of the Timorese.

Another policy for dealing with Indonesias overcrowding problem has been a birth control programme which has also had substantial support from the World Bank. This programme has been particularly intensively implemented in East Timor. In fact up to ten times as much is spent per couple in East Timor compared with Indonesia. This is a particularly insidious policy in a region that has recently lost such a large proportion of its native population.

Furthermore there has been concern about the emphasis which has been put on the use of the injectable contraceptive Depo-provera, firstly because of its side effects and secondly because it can be administered without the patient realising it is a contraceptive.

## The Church in East Timor

The Catholic church in East Timor has the support of the majority of the Timorese population, 60% of whom are Catholic. Many of these are recent converts. The church is seen to be independent of the state of Indonesia in addition PANCASILA (the official ideology) requires all citizens to be a member of one of five officially recognised religions: Hinduism, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism and Islam. Most Timorese were animists prior to the invasion, and none of these religions represented their faith.

Though conservative and a legacy of colonialism , the Catholic Church was preferred after the invasion because it sided clearly with the people.

The Catholic church in East Timor is administerd directly from the Vatican and is not, as Indonesia would like, attached to the Indonesian bishops conference. This is because the church clearly recognises that East Timor is a territory in dispute. The church is in a difficult posistion, having contact with FRETILIN, and having also to work with the Indonesian authorities. It walks a tightrope, a task made all the more difficult by the Vatican's own cautious diplomatic handling of the Timorese issue since 1975.

Through its network of mission stations, the church in East Timor knows only too well the effects of the Indonesian occupation on the people. The wall of censorship with which Indonesia has surrounded Timor means that the church provides an important channel for information to the outside world.

The previous papal representative in East Timor, Mgr. Costa Lopes, was a conservative man. Yet he was moved to strongly denounce the atrocities against the population and the hardships they suffer. His outspokeness led the Vatican to remove him in 1983, after complaints from Indonesia, but East Timorese priests continue to report the many violations of human rights.

Mgr Costa Lopes was replaced by Mgr Belo who has spoken of the "special and profound respect for the Church. Everything the people know they tell the priests. In the absence of genuine self-determination and independence, the war and misery in East Timor will continue indefinitely. We in the Church know that the resistance of the East Timorese people continues on all levels — in their hearts and souls, in their prayers to God."

In February 1989 Mgr Belo took the remarkable step of writing directly to Peres de Cuellar, Secretary General of the UN, to remind him of the UN's duty to oversee the decolonisation of East Timor, since the UN still recognises Portugal and not Indonesia as the administering power.

Mgr Belo called for a plebiscite because "the people of Timor must be

allowed to express their views on their future . . . hitherto the people have not been consulted. Others speak in the name of the people. Indonesia says that the people of Timor have already chosen integration but the people of Timor themselves have never said this. Portugal wants to let time solve the problem. And we continue to die as a people and a nation."

Another recent development is the announcement that the Pope will visit East Timor in October 1989. If this visit takes place it will throw a spotlight upon the territory. The visit presents a diplomatic minefield, and clearly demonstrates the difficult position held by the Church in Timor.

## Diplomacy and the Reaction of the Western World

At the time of the invasion, Indonesia had much to lose from adverse world opinion. It was heavily dependent on Western aid, investment, trade, and in particular on American military supplies to shore up its regime. 90% of Indonesia's military hardware came from the United States. Indonesia also had an important reputation to maintain amongst so-called "third world" countries, being a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement.

It seems likely the Timor tragedy could have been averted if the West had applied diplomatic pressure, and threatened to withdraw economic and military aid, from Indonesia. Instead the West has done much to support the invasion.

Indonesia is a firmly pro-Western country in an area of extreme strategic importance. Days before the invasion, Henry Kissinger and President Ford visited President Suharto in Jakarta. 1975 was a difficult year for the US, after their recent defeat in Vietnam. Concerned that Indochina might become an aggressive communist bloc, the United States courted Indonesia as an ally against such a supposed threat.

Many Western countries, including the US, Britain, France, Australia, West Germany, The Netherlands and Canada, have sold military equipment to Indonesia. To give a few examples:

Since 1978 Britain has supplied 20 Hawk advanced strike/training aircraft, Saladin, Saracen and Ferret armoured cars (number unknown), and command post computer systems.

Canada has provided ammunition, military vehicles, engines for helicopters. France and many other western countries have also supplied military equipment. According to US ADAC statistics West Germany was the second biggest supplier of military equipment to Indonesia after the US between 1972-82.

Whilst it cannot be claimed that all of this equipment has been used or is even appropriate for use in East Timor, some of it certainly has and the continuation of military supplies is a clear message of support for the policies of Indonesia on East Timor.

Australia failed to cause an outcry or even to investigate the murder of five of its journalists who were killed during one of Indonesias many pre-invasion incursions into East Timor. She also failed to exercise her influence in the region to bring about a just settlement of the Timor issue. In fact, Australia's policy has been to court Indonesia as an ally. Australia and Indonesia recently agreed to jointly exploit eneregy and mineral resources in the area of sea south of East Timor known as the Timor Gap.

## The United Nations

On December 12th 1975, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolution 3485, which called upon Indonesia to desist from further violation of Portugals territorial integrity and to withdraw without delay its armed forces from the territory in order to enable the people to express their right of self-determination.

Ten days later, the security council adopted Resolution 384 which also called upon Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor. Unlike General Assembly resolutions addressed to particular member states, a security council resolution is binding under article 25 of the UN charter.

Many resolutions confirming East Timor's right to Self- determination were passed in the General Assembly in subsequent years.

The last, in 1982, called on the UN Secretary General to "initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned" with East Timor " with a . . . view to achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem". Unfortunately, however, these discussions have not included those most "directly concerned" — the Timorese people themselves.

The legal case for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and self-determination for East Timor is as strong as ever. However, support at the UN has dwindled and the 1982 resolution was only passed by a slender margin of votes.

Only a small group of nations have spoken out against Indonesia's illegal occupation. Many other larger and more powerful countries, including Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, have quietly supported Indonesia whilst paying lip service to the principles of international law enshrined in the UN charter. Australia and the US were well aware of Indonesia's intentions to invade but did nothing to discourage it.

The decline in international support for East Timor stems from a cynical calculation of the advantages of supporting East Timor and the principles of International law against the much greater material advantages of supporting a large and powerful nation like Indonesia.

Indonesia continues to try to persuade those nations that do not already support her policies that they should recognise the geo-political and socio-economic realities of the situation as Indonesia sees them. ie. That East Timor's right of self-determination should be abondoned in favour of political expediency.

To quote the British parliamentary human rights group report on East Timor "Some observers have been prepared to accept, on behalf of the voiceless people of East Timor, the brass coinage of economic

development in exchange for the gold coinage of true freedom."

". . . If the international community condones the use of force by any nation to expand its territory, other potential aggressors will know they are unlikely to be punished or even inconvenienced for their crimes. And if the principles of self-determination are set aside in the interests of the big and strong, against the wishes of the small and weak, the notion of a body of international law regulating the affairs of all nations without distinction, as domestic law regulates the affairs of individuals, is fatally weakened. This is why the fate of a small people in a remote area should be of vital interest to the outside world. This is why the cause of East Timor must be taken up now with new determination."

From "The Forgotten Cause" East Timors Right to Self Determination. A Report to the Parliamentary Human Rights Group by Jack Bizot 1989.

## The Role of Portugal in Finding a Diplomatic Settlement

Portugal continues to recognise East Timor's rights and still acceptes her responsibility as the administering power.

The Portuguese constitution recognises Portugal's responsibility, in accordance with international law, to promote and safeguard the right to independence of East Timor. The UN and Portugal need to work together with support from the international community, to solve this problem; and the East Timorese people need to be included in discussions as they have not been in the past.

The difficulty here is firstly that Indonesia would not accept negotiations that involved FRETILIN; and secondly that it is diplomatically impossible for FRETILIN to represent the Timorese people in UN sponsored discussions, because FRETILIN has no formal status at the UN. Portugal takes the position that, although she does not claim to represent the Timorese people, she supports their right to self-determination and therefore to a voice in the future of the territory.

Now that Portugal has joined the European Community, there is an opportunity for the Community to collectively bring pressure to bear for a negotiated settlement.

The European Parliament has recently voted strongly in favour of a resolution critical of Indonesia's record in East Timor and is supportive of East Timor's right to self-determination. This is an important step forward and marks a new level of interest in the issue.*

* *See Appendix 3.*

# What is the Outlook?

It is clear that Indonesia's army is not going to be thrown out by force in the foreseeable future, it is equally clear that FRETILIN still has the support of the Timorese and will continue to meet the challenge of continuing the struggle for independence.

Indonesia's policy therefore is to convince international opinion that it has pacified East Timor and that the occupation should be accepted as a 'fait acompli'. Indonesia also wishes to reduce the cost of the occupation, and to this end is adopting policies to develop the Island. In addition Indonesia would like to convince the Timorese themselves of the benefits of integration, by using the same carrot of economic development.

The challenge for the Timorese is to preserve their struggle and their cultural identity, and the battleground for this struggle is winning the hearts and minds of the younger generation of East Timorese.

The challenge for the International community is to break the isolation of the Timorese while keeping alive the principles and values of self-determination and international law.

If the issue can't be resolved quickly and the struggle continues for years, the challenge of building a relationship of solidarity with the Timorese becomes crucial. There should be greater access to the Timorese for parliamentarians, church bodies and concerned NGOs. In this sense the Pope's visit and the planned visit by Portuguese parliamentarians later in 1989 are important. If the international community can't impose self-determination it is important that humanitarian organisations are allowed to work in Timor.

This however raises many dilemmas. Firstly any organisation working in Timor must in some ways give credibility to Indonesia's propaganda concerning the territory. In addition, it may be difficult for an agency to work in East Timor without co-operating with the military. How far will the Timorese themselves accept foreign projects under such conditions?.

In its new policy that allows limited access to the island Indonesia is clearly opening the door a little in order to see what will happen? They may decide to encourage greater access; equally, if the policy is thought to damage Indonesia's interests, access to East Timor may again be shut down.

Whatever the outcome; international efforts to break the isolation of the Timorese from the world community will be vital.

# Appendix

## 1. Testimony: East Timor

"I was 13 years old when the Indonesian army military forces invaded East Timor on December 7 1975 at Dawn. Following the invasion, I went to the bush and became a FRETILIN fighter.

In 1978-79, Indonesian troops carried out a large-scale offensive against FRETILIN and the population in the FRETILIN held areas. Many Timorese fell victim to that massive operation. For example, in the eastern-central region, where I was at that time (on the South coast) part of the population was killed as a result of the intense bombing raids by Bronco hunters, mortar grenades, howitzer-type weapons, bazookas and incendiary bombs which were all largely employed. Wherever they passed through, Indonesian troops destroyed crops, burned down houses and killed the cattle.

The population was forced to surrender to the invaders. Countless people were taken prisoner during these operations. Many of these who surendered or were taken prisoners, especially the stronger or more educated men, were accused by the Indonesian military of being guerrillas or FRETILIN activists and therefore brutally tortured and later shot dead. The women were mercilessly raped by Indonesian soldiers before being killed. The other men, were used as guides for the Indonesian invaders as they advanced. When the "guides" were no longer needed they were killed. Teenagers between the ages of 13 and 17 were used to carry loads for the military. Any valuable item which the captured or surrendered Timorese happened to have on them (for example a watch, gold or silver rings, necklaces) were taken from them, by the Indonesian soldiers.

Those FRETILIN guerrillas who surrendered to the Indonesian troops or whom the latter suspected of being dangerous were shot dead. Others, were forced to head the advance into the bush and fight against their fellow countrymen.

In 1979, when I was captured by the Indonesian troops, I was used by them to carry loads and to be a guide. In the same year, I was released and sent to part of my family who were in Dili (the capital of East Timor). In 1980 on the outskirts of Dili people were shot dead by the Indonesian troops in retaliation for a FRETILIN guerrilla operation carried out on the 10th of June 1980 against the Dili television station. Following that operation Dili prisons were overflowing with prisoners. A month after the FRETILIN attack, I was arrested by Indonesian red berets and I asked one of them why I was guilty and was being arrested one month later. After beating me, he answered me furiously that, there were many people to arrest and kill and that was why my turn had come only one month after. During the interrogations, prisoners were subjected to torture and I was too.

Each guard employed his own method of torture, always trying to do something 'new' and 'improved' in relation to the previous sessions:

- Electric shocks
- Beating with iron or wooden rods
- Crushing toes by placing them under the table legs with soldiers and officials sitting on top of the table
- Near drowning in tanks with the victims tied up
- Cigarette burns
- Being bitten by reptiles, etc.

I witnessed these forms of torture and was also subjected to some of them. There were also women prisoners and besides being subjected to the mentioned methods of torture, they were brutally raped by the Indonesian soldiers.

During the night prisoners were taken and disappeared. Later I was sent to a prison, where I was locked up in a very small cell one meter by two with nine other people. I could not sleep and I didn't know if it was day or night. From time to time, the guards opened the door and called one prisoner out. I never saw them again.

Later on my friends and I were sent to Atauro island. Atauro is a small island that belongs to East Timor and Indonesia made it into a prison island. There were about five thousand Timorese prisoners on that island. We were not allowed to speak with foreign delegations or journalists who visited the island. I was there for four years.

When I was released I worked for the Indonesian Red Cross as an agent of an Indonesian Red Cross branch called "Tracing and mailing service", which cooperates with the International Red Cross delegation in East Timor.

Every month I had to make my reports about our activities and to hand them to the Indonesian secret agents. The International Red Cross delegation was always under Indonesian secret agents' surveillance. Often I saw Indonesian secret agents travelling together with them in the same helicopter sitting side by side. The International Red Cross is one of the three international organisations in East Timor.

There are many secret prisons in East Timor holding small numbers of Timorese prisoners. The International Red Cross delegation has knowledge of some of these prisons, but they are not allowed by the Indonesian authorities to visit these prisons.

In East Timor no one is allowed to move from one place to another without the "Surat Jalan", a document that, in Indonesian, means travel permission. This document is only issued by the Indonesian military authorities.

Before the invasion the Timorese lived widely spread throughout the country, but since 1979 the people were forced by the Indonesian army to live in strategic hamlets, surrounded by the Indonesian troops, in order to isolate the people from the guerrillas and to have them always under strict control. As a consequence of being restricted to these hamlets, the people starve and many of them die of disease, because there isn't any medical treatment and they can't cultivate the land because the scope of the hamlet is not large enough. During the morning the people of the hamlets are mobilised to build roads or to do other work, such as accompany the Indonesian troops on patrols or make guard while the Indonesian troops are sleeping. At six o'clock in the evening everybody must be in their huts. Otherwise, they will be accused by the Indonesians of being in contact with the guerrillas and then tortured or killed.

Every time that the guerrillas make operations against the Indonesian troops positions, the Indonesians arrest, or execute the people of the nearest hamlet to the operation site as a retaliation. In the main towns of East Timor the houses are often checked at midnight. Everything is checked: suitcases, identification cards, wardrobes, etc. Private meetings are not allowed and it is forbidden to protest or speak out against the Suharto regime.

There isn't any telephone communication to or from other countries. The letters from or to the outside world are all previously checked.

After twelve years of suffering the people of East Timor show no sign of surrender; they have proved and shown that they reject integration into the Indonesian Republic. Today, the unity of the Timorese people has become stronger and this unity is expressed through the Nationalist Convergence (an alliance of the two main political parties UDT and FRETILIN), the people participate actively in the struggle against the Indonesian military occupation in East Timor in many ways.

It is important to stress here that before the invasion there was a population of more than 700,000 inhabitants. During the war that has been going on after the Indonesian invasion, more than 200,000 Timorese have been killed.

We are conscious that the Indonesian government intends to exterminate our people. There are two main examples that we can clearly see: the family planning programme and the transmigration programme.

The family planning programme means that one Timorese family cannot have more than 3 children (it is common, among the Timorese families to have 6 or 8 children), in addition to this the women are sometimes sterilized by force.

There are many Indonesian provinces that are overpopulated. The Indonesian government sent Indonesian natives to East Timor to live there and these people occupy all the good jobs and take everything that is good for themselves. A Timorese hasn't the same rights as a transmigrant.

The strategy is thus very clear, at the same time that the Timorese people are exterminated by the war, by famine and reduced by forced sterilisation, the island is being colonised by Indonesian transmigrants whose ethnic origin, culture, religion and language is different from the Timorese.

I'd like to give you some words now about the armed resistance in East Timor.

The FRETILIN armed forces FALINTIL have resisted against the Indonesian army occupation for 12 years now. How do the FRETILIN forces manage to resist on a small island without any support of other countries against one of the largest and best equipped armies of the Pacific region?

The guerrillas are supported only by the Timorese people and that's why the resistance is still going on because it's the people who support them, who refuse to be integrated into Indonesia. Otherwise the resistance would have collapsed a long time ago.

For twelve years FRETILIN guerrillas have not received a single bullet nor any medicine from other countries. Even our neighbours (Australia, New Zealand) directly or indirectly support the Indonesian government. The ammunitions, the weapons, the uniforms and the medicine that the guerrillas get are acquired from the Indonesian forces on the battlefield. The Timorese people are determined to fight until the last man or woman, even if the United Nations ever recognises the integration of East Timor into the Indonesian republic.

The resolution of the question of East Timor can only be achieved through peace negotiations that involve the legitimate representatives of the people of East Timor, that is the nationalist convergence FRETILIN/UDT, otherwise the war will continue."

JOSE GUTERRES 1987 — a Timorese refugee living in Lisbon.

# 2. Fretilin Peace Plan

Between the 20th and 23rd of March 1983, in liberated territory of East Timor controlled by FALINTIL (the Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor), FRETILIN and Indonesia decided to begin a process of dialogue. The objective was to end the eight year long war which was still far from over. FRETILIN has always considered negotiations as the best way to achieve a definite overall solution which would respect the interests of the Maubere People and the states of the region. Only the adventurism of the Indonesian military hawks led the Indonesian and Maubere Peoples into a war during which both peoples have been sacrificed, suffering incalculable material, human and moral losses.

Under the leadership of FRETILIN the Maubere People have responded to the genocidal war directed by the Indonesian Generals with a war of national Resistance. They have thus proved their capacity and determination to fight to safeguard their legitimate interests and just aspirations.

When at the beginning of 1983, Indonesia showed its willingness to begin preliminary negotiations with FRETILIN, a new chapter in the history of the Maubere people began, a chapter with the perspective for peace that both peoples have longed for.

Through its supreme military command the Revolutionary Council for National Resistance (CRRN), FRETILIN presented to the Indonesian Government its Plan for Peace whose application would guarantee, on the one hand, respect for the rights of the Maubere People and their freely expressed will, and on the other, a possibility for other countries interested in the East Timor problem to follow the process. Thus, on the 10th of May, 1983, the President of the Revolutionary Council for National Resistance and the Commander in Chief of FALINTIL, KAY RALA XANANA GUSMAO issued a press statement which included the following:

"FRETILIN DECLARES that the Maubere People are conscious of their insertion in South East Asia. FRETILIN declares that, because of this, it has never desired, does not, and never will desire that East Timor should be a focus for the spread of conflicts. East Timor is a non-aligned country and follows a policy of peaceful coexistence. These principles will regulate its relations with all countries and strengthen the links of technical, economic and cultural cooperation with its neighbours. The Maubere People know that they must respect the interests of their neighbours and also believe that their own legitimate interests will be respect."

Despite the recommencement of hostility by Indonesia and its unilateral breaking of the cease-fire agreed on the 23rd of March, 1983, as the first step in the application of the Peace Plan, there is no doubt that this today represents a fundamental instrument for the political and diplomatic action of the Maubere People. Its conception in the beat of armed struggle is a guarantee of its maturity, gained in the accumulation of eight years of political struggle. It is the only proposal of substance for resolving the conflict presented to date.

The Peace Plan which was supported by the Heads of State of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome e Principe at the Bissau Summit, in December 1983, constitutes a platform around which a politically and geographically diverse range of countries that desire peace, progress and justice can unite and international solidarity can be coordinated.

I. In terms of the United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 1514(XV) and 1541(XV), with the meditation of the United Nations Secretary General, direct talk between Portugal, Indonesia and FRETILIN within the framework of the United Nations should begin, to discuss:

a) The creation of a United Nations or Multinational peacekeeping force, whose impartiality would be an indispensable condition for guaranteeing and putting into practice:

★ A functioning Transitional Administration

★ The correct implementation of decisions taken during discussions on the positioning of the opposite forces — FALINTIL — and the Indonesian Armed Forces.

b) The organisation of free and democratic consultation of the Maubere People.

c) Setting a date for the transfer of sovereignity.

II. Australia has the right to participate in the talks as an observer.

III. Further observers can be accepted if they are proposed in equal number by each of the parties referred to in I and agreed to by all of them.

# 3. Resolution on East Timor

## The European Parliament

- having regard to the resolution on the situation in East Timor adopted by the European Parliament on 10 July 1986 (Doc. B 2-591/86) (1),
- having regard to the resolution on the illegal and illegitimate occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, unanimously adopted by the ACP-EEC Joint Assembly in Lisbon on 1 October 1987 (OJ No. C 50, 22.2.88, p.51),
- having regard to the following motions for resolutions:
  - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr VAN DE MEULEBROUCKE and Mr KUIJPERS on the reign of terror established by Indonesian troops in East Timor (Doc. B 2-927/85),
  - motion for a resolution tabled by Miss BROOKES on the violations of human rights in East Timor (Doc. B 2-1146/85),
  - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr van der LEK on East Timor (Doc. B 2-1150/85),
  - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr David MARTIN and Mrs BUCHAN on East Timor (Doc. B2-1218/85),
  - motion for a resolution tabled by Mr TELEKAMPER and others on the imprisonment of Antonio Goncaives, a citizen of East Timor, in Indonesia (Doc. B 2-1510/87),
  - having regard to the report of the Political Affairs Committee (Doc.

A. whereas the territory of East Timor was invaded and occupied on 7 December 1975, illegally annexed in July 1976, and has since been forcibly occupied by Indonesia and whereas this has provoked the genocide of one third of the population and widespread economic and social damage,

B. whereas this occupation has been condemned not only the the United National General Assembly Security Council and the conference of non-aligned nationals but also by the Inter-Parliamentary Union and many other international organizations of a political, humanitarian or religious nature,

C. whereas human rights are being violated by: arbitrary imprisonment, deportation, forced resettlement, ill-treatment, torture, summary executions, restrictions on the movement of persons and on postal communications, violation of personal privacy, the absence of the right of association and of freedom of expression and restrictions on freedom of religion,

D. whereas the cultural identity of the people of East Timor is being violated, namely through the imposition of a foreign language and the elimination of national language, the official dissemination of cultural values outside the traditions and history of East Timor, the destruction of family and social structure, transmigration carried on as political displacement of populations,

E. whereas freedom of the Catholic Church to exercise its pastoral mission is severely limited and a continuous pressure on priests and faithful is exercised by the Indonesian authorities in spite of the official subsidies granted to the Church,

F. whereas the people of East Timor are not yet able to exercise their right of self-determination and their attitude to Indonesia's presence can only be expressed through a referendum,

G. whereas since the occupation there has been a continuous armed resistance to the colonial annexation by Indonesia and such a resistance has been forcible because of the support of the overwhelming majority of the population, as is shown by the deployment of an army of 20,000 soldiers from Indonesia in the territory,

H. whereas, under Article 297 of its Constitution, Portugal remains bound by the responsibilities incumbent upon it under international law to promote the independence of East Timor,

I. aware of the unanimous concern of the Portuguese people for the self-determination of East Timor, as expressed by the efforts of many groups and commissions, as reported in the Portuguese media and as declared repeatedly by the Portuguese Parliament,

J. whereas, since the accession of Portugal to the European Community, the institutions of the Community bear an even greater responsibility than in the past for the people in East Timor, as was confirmed by the declaration in May 1988 of the President-in-Office of the Council,

K. whereas a number of EEC Member States continue to allow the export of military equipment to Indonesia without regard to its illegal occupation of East Timor and its continuing military operations in that country,

1. Condemns the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia and confirms the right of self-determination of the people of East Timor;

2. Defends the right of the people of East Timor to maintain, develop

and affirm their cultural, linguistic and religious identity derived from their own history;

3. Condemns the Indonesia policy of denying to independent foreign visitors the opportunity to examine freely conditions in the country and to investigate reports of human rights violations;

4. Calls on the Indonesian Government to carry out the promised opening-up of East Timor before the end of 1988;

5. Requests the Indonesian Government to allow international aid and human rights' organisations to come to East Timor and to give them complete freedom of movement;

6. Calls on the Indonesian Government to permit free movement within East Timor and to grant people the right to enter and leave the area;

7. Condemns the continuing violation of human rights in East Timor by Indonesian occupation forces and by paramilitary and civil organizations under the control of the Indonesian authorities;

8. Urges the Indonesian Government to comply with the International provisions on human rights in East Timor;

9. Calls on the Member States of the European Community to undertake political action with a view to securing a withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor, as an essential precondition for ensuring respect for the fundamental rights of the people and for the exercise of the right of self-determination, including the right to independence, and to support the efforts of the UN Secretary General aimed at achieving these objectives;

10. Calls on the UN Secretary-General, in his efforts to find a solution, to consult not only with Portugal and Indonesia but also with the representatives of the people of East Timor, the 'Convergencia Nacionalista';

11. Calls on all governments in the Community to halt the sale of military equipment to Indonesia until the illegal occupation of East Timor is brought to an end;

12. Requests the Council to take measures aimed at reaching an agreement of cease-fire and enabling a referendum to be held after a transitional period, to be defined by the interested parties, with the people being allowed freedom of choice on the future of East Timor;

13. Expresses the wish that Portugal, as the 'administering power', under the provisions of international law and the Portuguese Constitution, should be allowed to play the active role falling to it to guarantee the effective exercise of the right of self-determination of the people of East Timor and supports the efforts made by the Portuguese authorities in the directive of concrete and viable, internationally accepted, solutions;

14. Urges the Foreign Ministers meeting in European political cooperation to maintain a concerted diplomatic action in order to guarantee the exercise of the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and to establish contact with all parties involved in the conflict, including representatives of the East Timor community and to report to Parliament on the progress of its initiatives;
15. Calls on all the EEC institutions to bear in mind the present colonial situation in East Timor and the terms of this resolution when considering relations between the EEC and the ASEAN countries;
16. Requests the Commission to take into account the situation in East Timor in its contacts with the Indonesian authorities;
17. Urges the Commission, in cooperation with the Portuguese authorities and international competent aid organisations, to grant adequate and direct aid both in East Timor and in the refugee camps in Portugal and Australia;
18. Requests the Commission to give a progress report within six months;
19. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Council, the Commission, UN organizations, the conference of non-aligned nations, the Government of Indonesia and the Government of Australia.

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East Timor: **The Struggle Continues**, Torben Retboll (ed). International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs. 1984.

# SOME WORDS ABOUT CMP

CMP is a non-confessional ecumenical peace movement, founded at the beginning of the 1920s. Today CMP is a European movement that pursues its aims through a wide range of activities. Internationally these are based on voluntary workcamps that each year gather thousands of young people to join their efforts on a voluntary basis, to support local projects throughout the world which are committed to work on peace and justice issues, social work or environmental protection.

Through its peace education and development education programmes, CMP offers people an international and global approach to the main problems affecting today's world. It hods international seminars and training courses which are open to everyone.

CMP has for a long time tried to encourage the participation of the excluded and underprivileged in our societies. The work for development with justice, carried through a campaign to raise consciousness of the issues of Liberation, Justice and Peace, will be enlarged in the years to come.

If you wish to participate or contribute to this work, please contact any of the following addresses:

**Belgium**
Mouvement Chretien Pour La Paix
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B-1000 BRUXELLES
Tel: 02/219 57 20

**Mouvement Chretien Pour La Paix**
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B-4000 LIEGE
Tel: 041/23 07 41

**Mouvement des Jeunes Pour La Paix**
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". . . The Christian Movement for Peace is an international movement that brings together all those motivated by the need for a society of Justice, Peace and Human Solidarity. It supports all those, women and men, who want to take their destiny into their own hands so as to organise collectively a responsible and liberating society."

*from the preamble of the International Constitution of CMP.*

**Other Solidarity Organisations concerned with East Timor**

In order to take up this issue it is important to keep up to date about events in East Timor. The following organisations produce regular information bulletins in English.

Tapol
111 Northwood Road
Thornton Heath
Surrey CR4 8HW
G.B.

C.I.I.R.
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**Other Organisations**

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